1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 group. If the head is a male, he is succeeded at death by the next oldest
616 member, sometimes by his sister's son. His functions are light. He acts as gift-giver at the *uvale* feasts for first-born children in the families making up the descent group. He represents the lineage at inter-lineage and village meetings, arranges for the carrying out of its activities in games, competitions and feasts. He has no special status in the community beyond a certain position within his own group, based on seniority. There is no record today of internal moiety organization, but it is likely that the senior lineage within the moiety formerly appointed a head man to oversee the affairs of the moiety.

776 No tapu objects are linked with the maternal lineages today. No gods
771 were linked with them in former times.

Informants had little clear memory of any association between moiety, lineage, or sub-lineage and plant, animal, or natural phenomena. There is no suggestion of any relationship that could be construed as totemistic.

It is possible that formerly each lineage had associated with it a type of decoration, or an object used as a status or prestige symbol. A suggestion of this occurs in the chant, "Panenu Te Watu, kino te werea" (1); informants thought a reference to the *lei*, a seaweed that grows in the ocean and is said to color the sea red or yellow or green, was associated in some way with the Wea Uila. Informants were unable to define this relationship, nor could they in general give the names of other plant or natural phenomena linked with any of the other lineages. Two reliable informants, however, asserted that the *werea* and coconut trees were linked with the Lulu, and the pandanus tree with the Kati groups. They could give no details of this linkage and this reference may refer to a time when there was a type of prestige symbol associated with each lineage, a matter otherwise totally forgotten today.

613 Today the sub-lineages are strictly exogamic. To marry a member of
582 one's own sub-lineage is to commit incest (*kai uale*, "house eating" or *kai*
584 *kiko*, "flesh eating"). There was no secular punishment for this breaking
776 of tapu, but the goddess Taua or the god of his paternal lineage would punish a male deviant with sickness, tumors, or accidental death by falling from a tree; and Matalili or the god of her paternal lineage would punish a woman with sickness, accidental death, difficult childbirth, loss of her child in childbirth, or barrenness.

613 The maternal lineages are neither exogamic nor endogamic. The mem-
616 bers of a lineage, provided they do not belong to the same sub-lineage, may intermarry if the other rules governing marriage, avoidance tapus, and rules of consanguinity are not infringed.

618 In former times, before the sub-lineages had subdivided themselves from the lineages,
582 the moieties and lineages were possibly exogamic, and the lineages functioned as clans.
171 As the number of lineages in each group increased and subdivided into smaller functional units, each sub-lineage continued the pattern of exogamy derived from the larger unit, and there was then no need to stress lineage exogamy. More precisely, exogamy,

685

685 PROPERTY OFFENSES--definitions of and penalties for stealing (e.g., theft, poaching, robbery, burglary, fraud, embezzlement); definitions of and punishment for property damage (e.g., trespass, arson, malicious mischief); etc.

See also:

Property . . . . . 42 Banditry 879

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

The open sea opposite each reef was controlled by the village owning the reef and only men from that village might go deep-sea fishing there. As the canoe channel on the western reef was controlled by Yato village, men from Loto and Ngake had to receive permission before taking their canoes across the break (*avu*) in the reef at this point. This was a frequent request, for the only other break close to the villages is on the north-eastern side of Wale, rarely as sheltered and manageable as the western side. Permission was given as a matter of generosity. Trespassers in the fishing reserves of other villages were punished by fines in nuts levied by the guards (p. 37) of the village whose reef was violated.

Before the causeway (*kolo*) was built across the western arm of the lagoon on Wale, this lagoon indentation was considered a part of the reserve of Nius. After the causeway was constructed, Yato village still retained control of the "bay", and turned it into a fish pond. It is simply called *te loto*, the name for any enclosed water. This pond contains many *avu* fish (white mullet), which fatten on the algae growing on the lagoon bottom. The fish are tapu for most of the year, but at certain arranged times, generally at the end of each month, the pond is opened to fishing parties from Yato for one or more days. Fishing is sometimes an individual matter; at other times all the men of Yato fish together on the same day. The catch is divided among all the people of the village. Some of this fish finds its way through gift to other villages, but the sole right to fish in this pond is jealously guarded by Yato men.

LANDS AND BOUNDARIES

The land on the three islets is divided among the villages. Each village retains control of the lands specifically set aside as communal village lands. The rest of the land within the village boundaries is controlled by the paternal and maternal lineages. The village boundaries (*tuakoi*) on Wale are shown on the map (fig. 1, *b*).

The present boundary lines between the villages date from a period just after the great seismic wave of about 300 years ago. After this catastrophe, in the reign of the chief Maina or of his successors, Tuliayanga and Alatalupo, it was decided to realign the boundaries to take care of population growth. The technique used is called *tutuki*, a form of stick wrestling. A weapon (*kaio*) of *matua* wood, about 4 to 6 feet long, is held by two men facing each other, each trying to push his opponent backward. The boundary advances or retreats according to the position of the weapon. In the contest in question, all three villages participated, lined up along a provisional boundary running from lagoon to outer beach near the present church.

Loto faced Yato on the west and Ngake on the east. Before the contest commenced, the high chief (*aliki nuio*) went to the sacred place of the goddess Tuna and requested

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 517 694 203 is known by the way in which the *lani* is disturbed. In Loto the men sit in the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats, cook talo meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*vananga*). In a loud voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or firewood, until such visits are authorized by the village. When the report [653] is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a new one that they have composed and practiced during the day. This finished, the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been detected is:

Wakalongolongo mai koloa,[1] e to tuu' laku ki te vananga a te pule ko avatu ki a koloa ia. I a koloa, awe taku koloa i a koloa tuua he wakatoiatoia wua i te moto. Ka puhua maoa i loto, e vayi loa, ngalepolepe. No i ai au aunui ia te vananga ke longo koloa talinga. Wakamaaia koloa wakalolei. Ko te vananga ia na aunui ai ki a koloa. Tangi ai loa ia te ueuu ia.

Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

685 696 377 People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the guard, either in nuts or in sennit or other craft objects. The amount of the fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported in its efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the reserve is immoral, few Pukapukans are above helping themselves to nuts in secret.

625 241 489 In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on Wale, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to look over the canoes surreptitiously for contraband foods. When the women of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *hotuua* fern to use as fertiliser for village talo beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

195 [1] Note the use of the final component of the first and second person plural, rather than the plural pronouns. *Koloa*, taro. The form is used in all public pronouncements.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

pole about under the piles of fern and look into the corners of the canoes. The women are given permission to bring back a few nuts for their own households. All the nuts in the canoes are removed to the beach by the guard, counted out one by one, and (nowadays) the total written down on paper. Once when the guards doing this were two youths who had just attained adulthood (*taubatane*), it was amusing to see the way they officiously examined the canoes of two elderly men who had gone to Motu Kotawa with the women. The older men, though obviously annoyed with the inquisition, did not dare to make any comment. It is only after the canoes have been given a clearance at this beach that they are allowed to proceed to another beach, nearest to the talo beds, to unload the cargoes of fern leaves.

When a village meeting decides that the villagers shall go to the reserves Ko or Kotawa, for a period to work the talo beds or to procure nuts, the matter is announced to the village by the guard, because it is the guard that oversees this visit and makes sure that none brings from the reserves more than the agreed amount of foods. A typical announcement of this nature, made in Ngake, which has extensive talo beds on Motu Ko, is:

Wakalongalongo mai lulua ki te vanaaga ko avatu ki to tama lulu. Ka wo lon tana ki te motu. Ko tana mea ka tumai: E takiyaea te niu pepelu, e takiyepulupulu te niu. Yaa na mea a te tinito ka tumai: E takimatawelau te wawa. E takiyepulupulu te tamaliki. Ke wo tana ki te motu nei, e ya te kavea, e ya te ngonga, e ya te lakia, e ya te kaka ia, e ya te lupe, e ya te kaipua, e ya te anga, e ya te wuti, e ya te ngangia. Ko te wui mua ia e wakayotia i to tana motu. Ka nono tana i ai e wiku po, wosuaui lua tana. Oti ai.

Listen you to the report to be given to our village. We shall go to the reserve. These are our things we shall bring back: 20 mature nuts each, 10 drinking nuts each. Next the things of the women which they will get: 100 tubers of talo each. For each child, 10 drinking nuts. When we go to the reserve, the crabs (enumerated) and the birds (enumerated), bananas, and *ngangia* wood will be tapu. Those are the things to be tapu in our reserve. We shall stay there for seven nights, then return. That is all.

Throughout the stay on the reserve, the guard reports each night the events of the day, makes sure by inspection visits during the day that the tapu foods are not being touched, and when the time comes to return, goes from house to house, counting the nuts piled up ready for the return trip. Visits to the reserve of Ngake were formerly made on such occasions as follows:

At times fixed by the chief of Ngake and the council of men, all the men would go to Motu Ko to collect nuts and to fish. Young men wishing to go to the reserve at other times to net birds or for whatever purpose, had to procure permission previous to the visit. At one time, it was customary for parties of three or four men to be given permission to fish from the outer reefs of the reserve. Permission was granted for a three days' stay only, and if the men stayed longer than this period, they were automatically considered thieves and treated as such on their return. At other times, at a meeting of the chiefs of the island, men of the other two villages were given permission by Ngake to go to Motu Ko for a set period in order to fish from the reefs.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

This was a return for courtesies rendered to Ngake men by the other villages, particularly deep-sea fishing privileges off the western reefs of Yato.

That the reserves are well guarded is evident from two incidents:

In walks over the island with Yato informants, amazement was always expressed in their faces when I casually proposed taking a short cut to our objective across the reserve of Loto. Even though I thought that my presence was sufficient evidence that my informants were not likely to steal nuts or taio from the reserve, informants never set foot on the reserve without finding the nearest guards and informing them that their visit to the reserve was in my company only, and not for illegal purposes.

On one occasion we were taken to Motu Ko in a Yato canoe. The Yato men took the opportunity to inspect the reserve thoroughly before going on to Motu Kotawa. This was the first time that some of them had set foot on Motu Ko. Ngake friends were continually urging us to pay a visit to Motu Kotawa that they might visit Yato's reserve as canoe crew. When we finally went to Motu Kotawa, Ngake men launched the largest canoe available, and there was keen competition for the privilege of being one of the crew. Even old men, almost incapacitated through age, made a point of being fictitious crew members on this day, and during our few hours' visit on the islet, the Ngake men inspected every nook and cranny of the reserve, appraising the amount of nuts on the trees and the number of roosting birds with critical eyes. The results of the survey proved a topic of excited conversation for many days thereafter.

The villages have retained exclusive control over village reserve lands throughout Pukapukan history. At one period, however, in the reigns of the two chiefs after the seismic wave, the system of village control was temporarily in abeyance. In order to prevent widespread stealing, the law of *pule pae* was decreed whereby the guards had the power to kill by strangulation or drowning anyone caught stealing food from the reserves. Though centralized in one locality at this time, the villages still retained separate identities. Each village unit furnished a guard for the reserves. According to the severity or laxity by which these guard units enforced the law they were named: Te Pule-Wala-o-Yila-Wua (Pandanus-that-glitters-only), the guard of Ngake; Te Pule Tuli (the Tuli bird guard, or the guard that chases), the guard of Loto; Te Pule-Wala-Mangeo (the Guard-of-bitter-pandanus), the guard of Yato.

The guard of Ngake was kind-hearted because the people of Ngake had opposed the passage of the law of *pule pae;* this guard allowed thieves to escape from the reserve, thus earning the name of pandanus that glitters only but does not sting or catch people with the thorns of the leaves. The guard of Loto carried out the letter of the law, and allowed none to escape; they caught people as the *tuli* bird is caught in a trap. The guard of Yato was also strict, so they were named after pandanus that catches people with the thorns of the leaves. It is said that if the Ngake guard saw a man tarrying at the boundaries of the reserve, they told him to hurry inside, take what food he could, and hurry away while they turned their backs on the infraction of the law; that the Yato guard killed law-breakers at once, and that the Loto guard killed them on the next day.

Besides accounting for the law breakers, the guard collected nuts and baked for food to divide among all the people. This was done by the guards stationed on Wale, on Motu Ko, and on Motu Kotawa. Other members went through the village each day to see that everyone was accounted for. Those missing had to prove that they were

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

not illegally fishing and that they were not stealing from the reserves. Incidents of this period are told in the stories of Tuiva and Kupolu, and in the story of the *pule pae* (pp. 307, 305).

Numerous references in the stories and traditions of the island show that stealing from the reserves was an ever-present problem that challenged both supernatural and secular supervision of these reserved areas. The only major sin in Pukapukan society seems to have been stealing from the reserves; beside this, all other types of antisocial conduct become mere peccadillos. Where the law breaker meekly accepted punishment, secular or supernatural, all was well, but a thief surprised by a guard and resisting arrest either in shame or in desperation might be killed outright in the succeeding brawl. Several ancient graves on Motu Ko are still pointed out as the graves of thieves who were surprised on the reserve and killed.

TALO BEDS

The center of the reserve of Uta is a communal talo bed controlled by the village of Loto (pl.1,*B*). This large area is subdivided into 11 smaller areas (*si lulu*), named after nine land divisions in the reserve. There are four similar *si lulu* in the reserve of Niua. The people of Ngake have more than 15 large talo cultivations on Motu Ko.

Traditions states that the main talo beds on Wale were formed originally by Tumulivaka, son of the god Matuliki. Tumulivaka became troubled in his heart at the number of gods who were taking up residence on Pukapuka. He wished to be separated from the gods, so he stood at Te Auma, the northern point of Wale, and stuck his foot in the sand. This made a big separation or channel in the land from Te Auma to the pond, Te Valiuna, in Ngake village, and thence to the sea. As this follows the line of the present talo beds, it is common to refer to these beds as Te Akanga-vae (Striking-of-the-foot). Matuliki with his wife and the gods lived on the western side of the division, *te wuli uvuna*, so called because it faced the setting sun, while Tumulivaka and his sister, Te Manikiaia, lived on the eastern side, *te wuto tuvuna*. As the island became more populated, this natural excavation, widened and deepened in places, was used for talo beds.

It is probable that the first migrants to the atoll found natural hollows in the land, caused by wave action when the atoll was being built up above sea level, and used these hollows as the basis for the talo beds. Successive generations continued the work of excavation, no light task with coconut shells, coconut baskets, and digging sticks as the only implements. Subsurface water seeped in and rain water helped to rot the artificial fill of dried coconut midribs, *hotonu* ferns, and other plant material into a humus soil, which became in time excellent soil for talo cultivation. The results of the excavations are seen in the raised embankments (*tua motu* or *tua si*) which follow the line of the talo beds and divide one bed from the next. That natural hollows were first used as beds is indicated by hillocks about 40 feet high running beside some beds. It is impossible to imagine that

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

the chief's executive (*uwle*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*kave te vonanga*) to the several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o te aliki* or *te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te talatala no te aliki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of the civil war (p. 389).

The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of the people. The sub-chiefs (*langatila*) were the executive officers, directing village works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members. Each was fed by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for himself many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

Sanctions

Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular, but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of the chief Tuliayanga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punishment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pule pae* (death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by group action, perhaps if it was thought that the gods would be too long in acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the beating (1).

If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punishment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threatened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1924-5)1938 Pukapukans

a wedding, he asked a powerful friend to wrestle for him. If one woman slandered another, the injured party followed the other to the bush where she tried to beat her with a stick, or else fought her with her hands, trying to tear out her hair or otherwise pain her. Sometimes the injured woman tried to seduce the husband of the slanderer. If she succeeded, she publicly humiliated the slanderer by announcing that she had seduced the man, telling also the reason why.

Today, the Cook Islands Act has superseded old-time law. The talo beds and the reserves, however, are still administered by the guard, which levies fines on those caught stealing. One day during our stay, the women's guard from Loto came en masse to Yato and accused a Yato woman of stealing talo from Uta. The Yato woman confessed, and was immediately fined six *uto* nuts or three pennies. She handed over the nuts, and all were satisfied. In their report to the village each night, the guards mention the names of persons who have trespassed on reserve lands.

THE HOUSEHOLD

The native definition of a household is that group of people which use the same cook house. Three households (households 8, 44, 49) described by informants constitute variations on this pattern. (See table 5 and p. 249.)

The number of sleep houses all grouped together on the same lot and occupied by the same household unit depends on the size of the household. Where there are several sleep houses the parent or parents and unmarried children, blood or adopted, sleep in one house; a further grouping occurs in terms of relationship, age grades, and personal choice. A married son or daughter generally sleeps with his family in a separate house.

Composition

The relationships of the persons making up individual households studied is shown in table 5. The 54 households of Ngake and Yato give 38 distinct groupings of kin:

Ten households are composed of mother, father, and children. Seven households are composed of mother, father, and adopted children. Two households are composed of mother and children, mother in household 16 being a widow, and in household 41, a divorcée.

The biological family of mother, father, and children is the basis of the composition of 27 of the 54 households. In 13 households, mother, father, and adopted children is the basic unit. In only six households does the combination of father, mother, children, and adopted children occur.

Outside these groups, the most common household member is the son's wife. One son's wife and one daughter's husband (household 8) have, with their children, remained in residence with their father-in-law though their mates are deceased. It is further noteworthy that these two, the (deceased) son's wife and the (deceased) daughter's husband, are brother and sister. No explanation of their residence was given by inter-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provocation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily detected. For a time Kieilu, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests (*tutukianga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the reserves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation was ensured by placing a prohibition (*lavi*) of the chief upon the beds not in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea, leaving other parts open.

The Law of Pule Pae

Tuliayanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of having the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliayanga had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*unkaya*). As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized the weak, Tuliayanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Tau, asking him what was his favor. Te Tau was thunderstruck (*to te pale*) when he heard the news. He replied that nothing was to be done and the girls freed from custody. Two sons of the chief, however, had previously strayed to the reserve and been killed by the guard. Tuliayanga heard that Te Tau had saved his two daughters after his own two sons had been killed. He rushed to the house of Te Tau and said, "You killed my two boys, now you wish to save your two girls", implying only too plainly that Te Tau, who was instrumental in passing the law, had no right to defy it. Tuliayanga turned to the guard and called out, "Yelu!" (Comb!), meaning that the hair of the girls was to be combed forward so as to expose their necks. This done, the strangling cord was passed over their necks and the girls were strangled to death before their father. Their bodies were buried in the cemetery, not thrown into the sea as were the bodies of other thieves.

Two men, Tuiva and Kupolu, were successful in defying the blockades of the guard:

Tuiva, a warrior, strong and unafraid, was married to a daughter or granddaughter of Tuliayanga. He would go to the reserve at night, climb a tree, and get nuts. When the guard heard the noise and came to investigate, Tuiva threw down immature nuts so that they landed some distance away from the tree. The guard's attention would be diverted by this noise and, while they were combing the ground, Tuiva came down from his tree and escaped from the reserve. This ruse succeeded several times. Though no one actually saw him in the reserve, the guard decided that only one man was strong and daring enough to go to the reserve so openly, and this was Tuiva.

On a later occasion, when Tuiva was in the reserve, the guard refused to budge from the tree where Tuiva was hiding, even though they heard noises elsewhere. Each guard was armed with a stick. Tuiva resorted to another ruse: he pulled off two coconut midribs and carried them halfway down the trunk of the tree, where he buried them to the ground with such force that the guard thought it was a body that had fallen. The guard rushed to the midribs and buried their sticks at it. By the time they discovered that Tuiva was not buried under the leaves, he had again escaped. He was recognized, however, and the guard hurried after him. Tuiva reached home and told his wife about the mishap, saying he would sell his life dearly if the guard tried to arrest him.

The guard went to Tuliayanga and reported that his son-in-law had been stealing. Tuliayanga's daughter also appeared to plead for the life of her husband, saying she would substitute for him if the guard decided to strangle him. Tuliayanga was touched by the appeal of his favorite daughter and was also somewhat afraid of the powers and strength of Tuiva, knowing that if the guard went to get him, much blood would be shed on the island. Tuliayanga therefore ordered the guard to allow Tuiva to go free.

At about the same time another daring warrior, Kupolu, would go to the reserve and walk out before the eyes of the guard carrying bunches of nuts in his arms. If any of the guard tried to intercept him, Kupolu put down his nuts and openly engaged the guard in a struggle, almost always succeeding in throwing many of them into the tide swamps before the others scattered. This he did so often that the people said, "Why kill the weak people for trying to get food when the strong warriors like Tuiva and Kupolu can get food from the reserves and none can stop them?" This seemed reasonable to so many people, Tuliayanga included, that the chief abrogated the law of *pale pae*.

Civil War

Though the law of *pale pae* was abrogated, the reserves were still common property and the people were living in Loto. Some were of the opinion that it was time to go back to the old three villages with village control of the reserves. To decide this question, Tuliayanga called a meeting of